



VOL. VII.—NO. 47.

NEW YORK, FEBRUARY 20, 1898.

PRICE 3 CENTS.

## ON THE RUN.

### Gompers Shows the White Feather a Third Time.

Historic Incidents in the Textile Workers' Strike in New Bedford, Mass.—The Old Style of Unionism, Thanks to Which these Men's Wages Have Been Going Down and Now Face Another Reduction, Vainly Tries to Save its Head.

NEW BEDFORD, Feb. 15.—The occurrences last week in the camp of the striking textile workers have been so numerous and have been so full of significance that I think it well to condense them in an article in which I shall embody the leading facts. The working people in the country will, as time passes, look back to these incidents and appreciate them all the more. On Wednesday, the 9th, Mr. Samuel Gompers arrived in this city for the ostensible purpose of smoothing over dissensions among the striking textile workers. He arrived in no condition of mind to do any such thing, even if there were dissensions, which there was not. The only "dissensions" was a growing sense among the workers that he and his set were humbugs. He arrived in this city bearing the lashing he had got across the shoulders of his man Tracy, of the Cigarmakers, and "organizer" of the A. F. of L. of Massachusetts, who was ordered out of the convention of textile workers in Lowell. When Mr. Gompers arrived here he was met by the following letter, published in the "Standard" of the day before, and a copy of which was handed to him in person:

To Mr. Samuel Gompers—  
In the name of Section New Bedford, S. L. P., I am authorized to issue the following challenge:  
That you shall appear in debate on next Friday evening, Feb. 11th, at City Hall, with Daniel De Leon. The subject to be: "The principles which you (Gompers) represent, known as the American Federation of Labor, as opposed to those represented by DeLeon, and known as Socialist Trade and Labor Alliance, or Socialism."  
Yours, in behalf of Section New Bedford,  
JAMES F. HANCOCK,  
474 Coggeshall st.

Organizer of the Local Section.  
On the evening of that day Mr. Gompers addressed a meeting at the City Hall. The hall was not half filled, so little interest was taken in him. He spoke for several minutes some state phrases, and then he began to grow visibly excited. He could not keep his eyes from the numerous "Red Buttons" in the hall. He grew redder and redder in the face and then began to call people names. "Traitors," "hired hirelings of Pinkertons," etc., etc., were the terms he flung at those who condemned his fakism. His stupid insults were met on the spot. The lie direct was given to him: he was called upon to make his statements good in debate; the meeting was visibly running away from him; he tried to keep it by bellowing; and finding that did not do, he abruptly closed, saying he had to take the train for Pittsburgh, which was not true. Out of the hall he rushed while a few of his adherents passed him a "vote of confidence." As he was rushing out of the hall, the men he had so long deceived, and whose wages had steadily gone down under his leadership of labor, greeted him with "fakir!" "fakir!" He said at first he would come another day and debate, but as he flew out of the hall, Walter J. Skahan approached him, saying: "Tell me when you will be back and we will pay all your expenses." Gompers turned around furious and yelled: "I'll never come back!" So ended that meeting, with Gompers on the run as fast as he knew how.

The next day the papers contained a series of interviews with "men prominent" in labor circles. These "prominences" censured in various degrees Comrade Hancock, of the Executive Committee of the Spinners' Union. The time, so was the general opinion of these "prominences" was not opportune for a challenge, etc., etc. In answer to them all Hancock published the following open letter in the "Mercury" of the 10th instant:

"To those not initiated as regards the challenge of the Socialist Labor party, I submit the following:  
"That the challenge is made necessary by the recurrence of an industrial crisis known as a strike, coupled with Mr. Gompers' attitude, past and present, towards the same.

"Seeing that Mr. Gompers was about to visit us in his official capacity to again put forward what is known as pure and simple trades unionism or combination upon the economic field as the sovereign remedy for the afflictions of labor, known as strike, lockout, and so on.

"We hold that the fallacies of such theories as he puts before his hearers are, in the light of experience, fully developed, having reached that stage of being which marks the period of decay, and that for a man of his supposed intelligence to appear before even a number of less intelligent than himself and to again advance the same old song, 'trades unionism pure and simple,' is simply absurdity.

"We hold that seeing to what phase of development the machine of production has attained, coupled with the development of what is known as 'private ownership' of the same, that it is folly for the wage worker to either hold or maintain or even allow himself to be misled any longer with such fake ideas and fakirs to the end that the present

system of wage slavery can be abolished or improved by such barbarous methods known as strikes, the dead sea fruit of 'pure folly and simpledom.'

"I read that Mr. Gompers in Lowell has made the following statement: 'Within a year they (Pennsylvania miners) will have the eight-hour day,' but neglects to tell us how. Has he some magic wand whereby he can command into being such a desired effect, or does he leave us to infer that the A. F. of L. will accomplish this? If so, we are willing to teach him or any advocates of the same that such illusions are the product only of a strongly imaginative mind or else the product of unscientific reasoning.

"Can it be possible that Mr. Gompers has not heard of the engineers' strike in England? Has he not noticed the impotency of that which he advocates, or, in plain words, how the strongest labor organization in the world went down before a combination of capital? For many years has this organization been in preparation, and now to fall in ruin, broken and powerless, will he dare to advocate that the miners of Pennsylvania should do exactly the same?

"We are willing to reason and to be shown how we are to avoid such disastrous results following our footsteps whilst we plod the path of life, and to prove this we are willing to meet him in debate, pay the expenses which will be incurred by a prolonged stay in the city, and to show we are candid and truthful we are willing to meet any person or number in debate as to same.

"Whilst we thus war seemingly against individuals, we bear no malice. Our desire is to attack those principles represented by the same, but if we are misconstrued, purposely or otherwise, we care not, for we clearly understand that personality must occur in this battle for right, some must sacrifice or be sacrificed, and so let it be.

On behalf of Socialism,  
JAMES T. HANCOCK.

This communication and the criticisms on Hancock were followed up by the following in the "Evening Standard" of the 11th from William Cunnane, President of the Cotton Weavers' Protective Association, and financial secretary of the Strike Council:

"I was out of the city all day Wednesday on business connected with the Weavers' Association, and did not return until 6:30 o'clock in the evening, and being so pressed with clerical work which had accumulated, I found it impossible to attend. It was my intention to have been present. When I heard that this trouble had occurred I felt very sorry, and I haven't the slightest doubt in the world but Mr. Hancock is equally as sorry. But the trouble having occurred, the question arises, who shall we blame?

"The Socialist Labor party had sent out a challenge to Mr. Gompers, the nature of which was neat, courteous and manly, in my opinion. The next question is as to the wisdom of issuing that challenge at this time. It was an acknowledged fact that Mr. Gompers was to speak at that meeting, and in my opinion it was much wiser to have challenged him while he was in the city than at a time when he was miles away. He was expected to take up the challenge on Wednesday evening. Now, as to the reason of this challenge. Mr. Gompers was here to advocate the tenets and doctrines of the American Federation of Labor, and to prove that the American Federation of Labor was the by-path to the emancipation of wage slavery. The Socialists were apparently ready and willing to prove that the workers, through an organization such as the American Federation of Labor, could not permanently improve their conditions. There are 10,000 people suffering from the effects of the wage system in our city at this moment, and from the point of view of the Socialist, and in my opinion from the point of view of every intelligent man who is capable of thinking and reasoning, the most important question even at this moment is not the problem of how to bring to these suffering people the food and other necessities of life that they require, but to point out to them and have them adopt some means of action which will make strikes, lockouts, penury, want and starvation entirely impossible upon any future occasion. Every trade unionist admits that the present time affords a splendid opportunity for the purposes of organization, yet these same men fail to view the situation in that light when the Socialists propose to do a little propaganda on their own account. Of course it is important, very important, that the suffering people of our city should have substantial assistance at this time, and the Socialists of this city, in proportion to their numbers, have exerted themselves in that direction as much as any other body of men. Mr. Gompers came here and spoke, not under the auspices of the joint strike committee, not at their request, or at the request, so far as I know, of any textile union in this city, and the textile workers, either through their unions or individually, are, therefore, not to blame for anything that might have occurred at that meeting.

"I have said I was not present at that meeting, but I have made such careful inquiries that may enable me to speak with as much confidence as some of the men who were there. I have been given an opportunity to look over the notes of the reporter who was present at the meeting, for the purpose of satisfying myself that the report such as it appeared in the press was substantially correct. Mr. Gompers, in the course of his speech, made reference to the challenge issued by the Socialists, and in the midst of his denunciation of such challenge some one in the body of the hall shouted that the challenger was in the hall, whereupon Mr. Gompers made a direct attack upon that person, calling him a traitor, an enemy of labor, and a hireling of the manufacturers, whose object was to break up the strike.

"Mr. Hancock I know personally. I know he has worked hard and long for

(Continued on Page 2.)

## SOCIAL CONTRASTS

Which We Are Striving to Wipe Out.

Look at this Picture,

Bulletin of Luxury!

SLEEPING IN SPLENDOR.

MAGNIFICENT BEDS USED BY AMERICAN WOMEN OF WEALTH.

The most splendid bedroom in all New York City is considered by both her feminine friends and enemies to be that of Mrs. Ogden Mills. Her sleeping apartment is an exact copy of an eighteenth century French state or royal chambre à coucher. The room itself is one of the largest in her spacious New York home. In that room this leader of fashion performs the one and only function of sleeping, and the bed is, with the exception of a couple of small gilt chairs and a clock, the single piece of furniture. This is a long, broad downy nest, in which four persons could rest comfortably, and, saying the headboard and top of the canopy not a scrap of woodwork shows anywhere about it. Every inch of the bed proper is hidden by magnificent draperies of blue-brocaded satin, further embellished with heavy embroidery of gold thread.

Quite complete, this throne-like affair was made in America, because after examining big beds for sale in the Parisian bric-a-brac shops, Mrs. Mills decided they were all lacking in the conveniences and comforts the modern American woman demands for her sleeping hours. So she came home, and of very plain oak her bed was built, the lofty canopy frame put up, the embroideries, ordered from an American needlewoman, hung, and then the great curtains and coverlet were edged with forty pounds of bullion fringe. These requisites for a perfect Marie Antoinette bed brought the price of it up far into the thousands, but the end was not yet.

A wonderful foundation of spiral steel springs first lined the inside of the couch, on the top of this a thin felt mattress was placed, and then on top a hair bed, slipped in a big silken cover, before sheets or blankets could be laid on. Finally the headboard, decorated by the brush of an American artist was put into place, and lastly the electrician was called in to give the finishing touches. The good offices of the electrician was not an original idea on the part of Mrs. Mills, for all the new beds, built for comfort as well as beauty, have first of all a tiny button that any one lying on the pillow can easily reach up, touch, and turn on the light in a group of bulbs artistically arranged in the headboard. In Mrs. Mills' bed a couple of gilded Cupids in this board hold each a spray of lights that shed their radiance down softly over the pillow at the exact angle needed for comfortable reading. To make the light perfectly agreeable and easy for the eyes, the globes of glass are a first ground and then treated with a varnish that subdues the hard electric glare.

Beside this arrangement runs a little row of keys along the bed's panel, and turning one summons the lady's maid. Another sets the front door bell a-ringing and so acts on any housebreaker as a most effectual alarm, and a third key sets in movement an electrical current that warms the bed. The bed warmer is really a white bag, incased in pink flannel, and attached to the end of a green wire, and serves to perfection all the purposes of a big hot-water bottle or an old-fashioned warming pan.

Mrs. Yerkes, the wife of the wealthy Chicagoan, is another woman who possesses a big French bedroom, with the bed set on a dais, and the room itself is used exclusively for sleeping. After the fashion of royal French ladies of a century ago, these women believe that a bedroom should have great space, a lofty ceiling, and all day long a current of air should sweep over the pillows, uncontaminated by human lungs. No furnace heat is used or gas lights burned in these sleeping apartments. A half hour before Madame retires a fire of dry logs is lighted, to take the chill off the atmosphere; by candle or electric light the lady goes to bed, and all these precautions are taken in behalf of health, to secure sound sleep and good complexions.

Two incidents in this city during the last week are worth recording as indicative of the trend of affairs among the proletariat.

First, the organization of a Local Alliance of Cigarmakers in the Socialist Trade & Labor Alliance. This was done at an open meeting, at which a number of labor fakirs, headed by such reputable characters in the labor movement as Heimerdinger, Modest and Moses Decosta, sought to create a disturbance and to fool the workers. They were roundly laughed at when they tried the former, and promptly made to understand that they would be put out if they persisted in the latter.

Second, the victory of the unemployed in Typographia No. 7 to secure higher out-of-work benefit. These men had helped the employed in the union to obtain the wages they now have, and the pure and simpliers among these sought to squeeze the unemployed out and down. The answer of the G. E. B. of the S. T. & L. A. "In the Matter of the Printers," caused the pure and simpliers to promptly abandon their schemes against the unemployed; and

And then at This.

Bulletin of Misery!

FAINTED FROM HUNGER.

Joseph Schneider, 65 years old, of No. 872 Sixth Avenue, old and feeble, and for days without food, last night staggered into the bakery at No. 795 7th Avenue and piteously begged for a cup of coffee.

Before Mr. Kohler, the proprietor, could give the old man a warm drink Schneider had fallen in a faint. At Roosevelt Hospital it was said that the old man had pneumonia in an advanced stage.

STARVATION MADE HER A THIEF.

"Oh, why didn't I kill myself, as I wanted to!" cried Elizabeth Flood, aged 21, as a store detective, Mrs. Quigg, brought forth from under the struggling girl's cloak articles she had stolen.

"What did you want to kill yourself for?" asked the detective.

The young woman laughed hysterically as she replied:

"Have you ever walked the streets day after day, night after night, asking yourself what is to be the end? Trying to decide whether it is better to jump into the river or to be carried to jail?"

"I did not want your trumpery things. But I have been hungry for days, and if you put me in prison, at least you will give me food. That is what I want, and I must have it."

Despair distorted the refined, pretty face, and she, shaking from head to foot, sank into a chair exhausted.

Elizabeth Flood has been a housekeeper, but has been out of employment for weeks. She is not strong enough for laborious work. She had tried to fill a position as housemaid, but was unequal to the task.

She is slight of frame and her delicate hands are pitifully inadequate. She could direct others, as she had done in her mother's home, but now she has no mother, is alone in the world, and the few relatives she has are in Ireland.

She would not tell where she lived, but after she had been pestered by the police to give some address, she gave No. 306 East 28th street.

The property she had boldly stolen in a 6th Avenue store was worth \$18. There was a carving set, worth \$2.23; some velvet, a silk waist and a woman's vest. Elizabeth Flood laughed derisively as she saw the things piled up on a table in the office.

"What could I do with them?" she said. "I would not know where to sell them. I wanted to be arrested. I have got to the point where my life is of no value to me, and I might as well spend it in jail as anywhere, so long as I get food."

That was the burden of her cry—the cry of a starving creature. Her dainty hat, with the veil drawn tightly over her face, was worn with an air that betokened refinement. A woman could have told that the materials composing it were cheap, but they were put together with the taste of a connoisseur.

The Magistrate held her in \$300 bail for trial on a charge of shoplifting. She heard the words of the Court with the same stony stare that she had bent upon the iron door of her cell all night, and when she was taken to the Tombs went with the same meek air of resignation.

She will be closely watched, for suicide is a crime, even when a young girl is dying.

AGED WOMAN EVICTED.

Policeman Forney, of the Oak Street station, has been interesting his friends to-day in Mary Murphy, an aged woman, evicted from No. 19 Cherry Street for non-payment of rent.

Forney found her sitting on the walk in the cold, surrounded by her scanty furniture. He not only gave her \$2 himself, but he collected \$2.34 from neighbors, and will see that she is made comfortable.

STRIKE AGAINST COLD.

Thirty-two hosemakers and cutters employed by the Peerless Rubber Company, No. 16 Warren Street, have gone on strike because their workrooms, in New Durham, N. J., are too frigid.

They say the temperature of the work room is below the freezing point, and they cannot turn out enough hose to complete what the firm decides to be a day's work.

It had the further effect of awakening the unemployed to a sense of their rights; they demanded \$2 a week more AND GOT THEM. But this was not all. A pure and simpler of Anarchist shade threw out an insinuation against the Socialist Trade & Labor Alliance; this was promptly met by one of the unemployed with the statement: "Those men have infinitely more principle than you!" and these words received a round of applause that made the pure and simple fakirs look sick.

In Syracuse, N. Y., there is a Garment Workers' Union, with a President, whose highest ambition is to become a policeman. Can such a body be said to be a link of the class struggle? Can it be expected to do the work of the proletariat in the Labor Movement? If the membership will not see light and cling to such a president, should the organization not be smashed, and sense brought into it by the organization of a bona fide union?

The receipt of a sample copy of this paper is an invitation to subscribe.

## TWO OF A KIND.

Fakir Labor Leader and Fakir Parson Working Hand-in-Hand.

PITTSBURG, Feb. 13.—The following clipping taken from the Pittsburgh "Dispatch" of Feb. 10th inst., is certainly one of the encouraging signs that are announcing the development and progress of the S. L. P.:

GOMPERS AND SOCIALISTS.  
THE FEDERATION PRESIDENT DENOUNCES THEM AS TRAITORS TO THE CAUSE OF LABOR.

New Bedford, Mass., Feb. 9.—Samuel Gompers, President of the American Federation of Labor, addressed a vast throng here to-night, and the meeting was almost broken up by members of the Socialist Labor party, who branded some of the speaker's assertions as false. James L. Hancock, organizer of the New Bedford Section of Socialists, had previously issued a challenge to Gompers for a joint debate on the doctrines of the Socialist Labor party. In referring to this challenge, Gompers said: "To challenge a comrade in arms at the time of a labor contest like this is traitorous" and he appealed for unity among the forces of labor. He declared there were misguided men among the Socialists, men urged on by stronger minds. Hancock jumped up and challenged Gompers there and then. In an instant, pandemonium reigned in the hall.

"Don't do that," said Mr. Gompers. "Don't sink to his level. I know this red button brigade. You will find a Pinkerton agent, the paid hireling of the mill corporation, here Friday night to divide you against yourselves." This was taken as a reference to a Socialist who is to speak here Friday night, and mingled applause and hisses followed. But Gompers continued, saying that men who would not fight together were traitors to each other. He was several times interrupted, and at length was forced to break off to catch a train for Pittsburgh.

The Comrades of New Bedford are to be congratulated on the many stand they took on this occasion, as the labor fakir must be flattened out of the way before the working class can get squarely at their enemy in a class-conscious political movement. Another encouraging feature of such publications is to bring our party organization, with its honest, fearless and militant tactics prominently before the eyes of the public, so that those who are sick unto death with the disgraceful, sycophantic and boodling propensities of our labor fakirs, and who as yet are unaware of any channel of escape from such, will be able to see and learn that there is ONE political organization of the working class in existence that does not hesitate, when opportunity offers, to grab the labor fakir by the throat and expose the fraudulent position he stands in. I can almost imagine the fun the "red button brigade" had on the evening mentioned by being a silent witness to a similar meeting that took place in Pittsburgh some two years ago. Could the press have published the innermost thoughts of Samuel on this occasion they would likely have read something like this:

To challenge a labor leader at the time of a labor contest like this is traitorous to his advancement and utility as a decoy duck whereby he may lead the working class into the capitalist political shambles, to be slaughtered at will, for all of which said labor leaders are greased with "shining gold."

There are misguided men among these wicked Socialists who have mental independence and virility enough to think for themselves, and will no longer submit to be guided (?) by labor fakirs, which is rank treason to pure and simpledom.

Fellow toilers, don't sink to the level of that red roaring demon who has the brazen effrontery to invade the sacred precincts of a labor meeting and challenge a high priest of pure and simple trades unionism to an open debate. I know this red button brigade. Alas, I know them well! Is it not they who are haunting my slumbers with horrid visions of being exposed before the working class in my true light and having my occupation gone?

Is it not they who are sorely encompassing me about and turning life's pleasant hours into whole chapters of Dante's "Inferno"? Is it not they who have held my every fakirism up to public scorn and contempt, with no prospects of their ever letting up? Ah! I know them. Then who can doubt my knowledge of this omnipresent brigade? By the great horn spoon and to my everlasting sorrow I know them, not wisely but too well. I may shout "Pinkerton detective" till I am "black in the face," but it does no good any more, the working class don't believe me. Then what am I to do? Stand here and hiss at a target of challenge and be made a target of? No, on your due cards. Not on your due cards, and surrounded by the luxurious trappings of a Pullman palace car, I can lay me down to rest and calm my perturbed spirit safe from the attacks of these red revolutionists, whose numbers seem to be growing legion.

The moon smilingly peers through a rift in the clouds, silence and somnolence settles down over the scene, while a voice is heard muttering from one of the berths: "Then unhappy low, lie down! Uneasy lies the head that wears a labor fakir's crown."

I wish to make a few comments on the actions of another brand of the genus fakir that has been rounding up the Pittsburgh dupes the last few weeks. Francis Murphy, the temperance apostle, has been here and has simultaneously been giving temperance lectures and taking up collections and doing (according to the daily press) "a vast amount of good" (?) The apostle

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## FOR THE 100,000.

Class-Conscious Workers of Kansas City in Line.

FORWARD KANSAS CITY!

THE CLASS-CONSCIOUS WORKERS OF THE MIDLAND METROPOLIS BEGIN THE POLITICAL BATTLE.

For the first time under the Australian ballot law, the Socialists of Kansas City, Mo., have put a ticket in the field for the city election, to be held in April. After several efforts to organize a Section in Kansas, which were frustrated by the smooth work of old party politicians, the present organization was perfected in the early part of November, 1897. In spite of repeated efforts of Single Taxers, Populists and other "reform" (?) elements, to turn them aside and disrupt the organization, the Section has grown from the first, until now it numbers over sixty members. In accordance with the programme of the Socialists to nominate tickets in all elections whenever possible, they have promulgated the platform and nominated the general ticket given below. They are the first in the field.

There is evidently a good deal of fear that the Socialist ticket in Kansas City will poll a large vote. The candidates and officers of the Section have been repeatedly importuned to drop the ticket and go in with some of the before-mentioned "reformers" on a fusion ticket. Action taken in this matter by Section Kansas City may be seen by the following communication, addressed to The People's Forum, an organization composed of Populists, Single Taxers, and others of as diverse ideas as could possibly have been gotten together:

Kansas City, Mo., Feb. 7, 1898.

The People's Forum, Kansas City, Mo.

Gentlemen:—Your proposition for a fusion of efforts in the coming spring campaign has been received. As Socialists, we cannot consistently support any candidate or any party which does not present what we consider to be an adequate remedy for the evils which nearly all recognize. Your proposition is therefore respectfully declined.

This Section holds open meetings every Sunday afternoon at Labor Hall, 1117 Walnut street, at which we endeavor to impart a knowledge of Socialist principles. We will be pleased to have you with us. Respectfully,  
W. S. ENGEL, Secy.

Section Kansas City, S. L. P.

By order of the Section.

Section Kansas City intends to go in for a stirring campaign to poll a big vote. They already contemplate organizing branches in the different wards of the city, and, expect to make a strong fight for members of the Lower House in several wards. The total vote polled for Matchett and Maguire in 1896 was only between thirty and forty.

Platform of the Socialist Labor party, Kansas City Municipal Election, April, 1898:

The Socialists of Kansas City have nominated candidates for the various municipal offices, and invite the wage-workers and all other honest citizens to unite with them at the ballot box.

We affirm our allegiance to the National Platform of the Socialist Labor party, and present the following resolutions and demands for the immediate relief of the working people:

WHEREAS, A provision of our City Charter requires members of the City Government to be owners of real estate within the city limits, thus restricting the functions of government to a very small class, the numbers of which constantly diminish while its power constantly increases with the increase in the size of its holdings, so that it will be only a short time until we have a government purely in the interests of the large landlords; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the Socialists of Kansas City denounce said provision of the City Charter as the worst of class legislation; we denounce lordism of any kind, whether of land or of capital; we advocate pure democracy, and pledge ourselves to use all proper efforts to secure the repeal of said provision of the City Charter in order that the interests of all citizens may be equally secured.

WHEREAS, Our public park system has been largely used to increase the benefits already accruing to the wealthy class, be it

RESOLVED, That we advocate the establishment of parks in such localities as will give all our people an equal share in their public benefits.

We demand (1) that Kansas City obtain possession of all local railroads, ferries, bridges; gas, electric light and power, heating and cold storage plants, and all industries requiring municipal franchise or supervision; and that all these utilities be furnished to the people at cost; the employees to operate the same co-operatively, under the control of the municipal administration; and to elect their own superior officers, but no employee to be discharged for political reasons. We further demand the adoption of the eight hour law in all public departments and the enforcement of all ordinances pertaining to the cleanliness and health of the city, such as relate to streets, sidewalks, sewers and smoke nuisances.

2. That the city establish and maintain public lodging houses, public bath houses, an orphan and foundlings' home, a home for abandoned women, and hospitals, with all modern improvements.

3. A well regulated system of food, milk, dairy, workshop and factory inspection, for the health of the public and the safety of the employees.

4. The city shall furnish meals and clothing to children of school age where the parents, through sickness or lack of employment, are unable to provide for them, and that public night schools be

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## THE PEOPLE.

Published at 154 William Street, New York.  
— EVERY SUNDAY —

## TERMS TO SUBSCRIBERS

Invariably in advance:  
One year..... \$1.00  
Six months..... .50  
Three months..... .25  
Subscription Trial, one month..... .10

As far as possible, rejected communications will be returned if so desired and stamps are enclosed.

Entered as second-class matter at the New York, N. Y., Post office, on April 6th, 1891.



## SOCIALIST VOTE IN THE UNITED STATES.

In 1888 (Presidential).....	2,068
In 1890.....	12,331
In 1892 (Presidential).....	21,157
In 1894.....	32,193
In 1896 (Presidential).....	36,564
In 1897.....	55,673

So soon as an early conviction has cooled into a phrase, its work is over, and the best that can be done with it is to bury it.

Lowell.

## "EXCLUSIVE PRIVILEGES."

The decision, rendered last week in New Jersey by Vice-Chancellor Frederick W. Stevens, whereby union label laws were made void, is an incident that could not, if it would, and would not, if it could, have occurred forty years ago; its occurrence now, and the ground on which it is placed, surely mark a condition of things worth noticing.

The learned Vice-Chancellor swept away the union label law on the ground that such laws grant "special privileges," and hence are unconstitutional. The attitude of the Labor Movement is one of hostility to "Special Privileges"; the motto of the Social Revolution is "Down with Special Privileges." What, then, means this language, dropped from the lips of the Vice-Chancellor, a Jackey of the Capitalist Class, of the class the very breath of whose nostrils is "Special Privileges"? Has the Vice-Chancellor turned Socialist?

The answer is self-evident, provided the language of this decision is taken together with the language that with increasing frequency is proceeding from some division or another of the capitalist camp.

Pulpiters, leading a lazy life, who twist away the canons of Scripture so as to allay the feelings of their front-pew-holders, and who seek to uphold the capitalist class as the surest way to continue their parasitic existence,—such pulpites are again and again heard to proclaim themselves Socialists. College professors, whose only science consists in a deep knowledge of how to frighten the rich and make them feel the necessity of paying well to the end of counteracting the "un-American" tendency that is manifested on all sides of seeking to arrest the social thieves who are plundering the people,—such professors, in not a few instances, pronounce themselves Socialists.

Politicians, who have found out how hard it is for them to make a living at honest labor, and who see the "barrels" of the capitalists bulging out from prospective and perspective bribes,—such politicians in large numbers are coming out as Socialists.

Now, are the Socialistic pretences of these pulpites, professors and politicians honest? Certainly not. Why are they made? Because, despite all the attempts they have hitherto put forth to throw obliquity upon the movement of the working class, the soundness of its demands have pushed its way forward, and the day has finally come when, so far from being unpopular, Socialism is rapidly moving into the very front rank of popularity. In view hereof, to oppose Socialism openly would defeat the very object of that disgraceful trinity of Pulpiters, Professors and Politicians. The mask of Socialism must be put on. Thus the unthinking may be caught; and thus, while seeming to be with the workers, they can be stabbed in the back.

The Vice-Chancellor's language is of a piece with the pretences of these "Socialists." As these purpose to kill Socialism to the tune of "Socialism," the Vice-Chancellor purposes to perpetuate "Special Privileges" to the tune of "No Special Privileges." The one set and the other resort to swindle.

While these swindling worthies are at their performances, they materially aid the cause they seek to scuttle. Our people are a confiding people. They have long trusted these gentry and are still trusting them. But Lincoln's homely words are a guarantee that there will and must be an end to this confidence game: "You may cheat some people all the time, and all the people some time, but you can't cheat all the people all the time." The Socialist teaching that there is no trust to be set upon any one who does not stand un-compromisingly upon the class interests of the Working Class, who does not un-qualifiedly demand the unconditional surrender of the Capitalist Class, is bound to receive fresher and fresher impetus from an experience that sets

bare the lie of the pretences of the spokesmen of capitalism. The Vice-Chancellor's decision furnishes the latest illustration, and is the latest symptom of the rotten-ripeness of the times for the intelligent and revolutionary movement of the masses en masse.

## WRENE PROFITS AND INTEREST.

From Sumpter, S. C., comes the cool news that the Cotton Mills Company of that town has just declared an annual dividend of 12½ per cent. after paying interest on large sums borrowed. In other words, the capitalist class drew out of that concern in dividends and interest at least 20 per cent. in one year.

The coolness of the item reaches, however, freezing point at the explanation of how such large profits could be made. Here it is in all its coolness:

"In January, 1897, the Sumpter cotton mills had closed their doors, on account of over-production, which had left the concern in debt, and the mill was idle with poor prospects ahead. A few weeks later the management borrowed money to increase the capital stock, and began work under new directorship. For the last twelve months the work of making cotton goods has been systematically conducted."

THE WORKING HOURS HAVE BEEN CHANGED FROM ELEVEN HOURS PER DAY TO EIGHTEEN HOURS PER DAY, WHICH WILL REQUIRE MORE OPERATIVES AND A RELIEF SYSTEM TO SOME EXTENT UNDER WHICH OPERATIVES CAN EARN EXTRA PAY FOR EXTRA TIME.

The necessity of a "relief system TO SOME EXTENT," the hours being lengthened from eleven to eighteen, is a big icicle, hand-shaped, with long index sticking out, pointing to the mystery of the phenomenal profits made at Sumpter.

## POLITICAL and ECONOMIC.

"Suppose the farmers should stop raising wheat and corn to sell, how long would the capitalists live on their stocks and bonds?"—Independence, Kans., "Star and Kansan."

Whereupon we ask:

"Suppose the farm-hands should stop working for the employing farmers, who, like all other capitalists, skin their employees out of the bulk of the fruit of their labor, how long would these farmers live on their property?"

Will the esteemed "Star and Kansan," upholder of the silver mine barons, who rob and then shoot down their miners; upholder of Senator Bung-Starter Ben, who disfranchised the working class of South Carolina; upholder of the Pop-Dem regime of Kansas which tolerates judicial decisions that render the labor laws of the State a mockery;—will the "Star and Kansan" kindly answer?

(See Hardie's London, Eng., Labor Leader, Jan. 29, 1898.)

## WORTH QUOTING.

"The Labour Party now in office in New Zealand, says Lord Curzon, in a letter to the power in January, 1891, and have therefore governed the colony for seven years with out interruption. Not only in those seven years has the population of the colony increased steadily, but the excess of the arrivals over departures is so much greater during those seven years than in the previous seven years as to show the country has been more attractive to outsiders. The value of the imports and volume of the exports of the colony have also materially increased, despite the fact that New Zealand in 1881 and 1894 had, respectively, the Australian colonies, to pass through a severe crisis, which, however, was not nearly so acute in that Socialistic community as in several other colonies. Although a strike law was passed in 1894, the number of factories in the country has since that time rapidly grown, and so have the number of hands employed in them. Wages have not fallen, the rate of interest, however, have fallen in a most marked way, showing that capital has not been scared out of the country. While enterprise has been quickened, the settlement of the land has gone on apace. The number of additional holdings of land and houses, and working farms have increased by several thousands. There is also a very active and promising development of both coal and gold mining. The statistics of crime and drink are singularly low, and speak volumes for the moral condition of the people. On the other hand, the election figures show that no less than twenty per cent. of the entire population is at school or college, and the returns of the savings banks and life assurance offices testify to exceptional thrift and prudence in New Zealanders."

We are not in the habit of quoting Ben Tillett as authority. His blather-skittish words against Socialists not long ago, and never retracted by him, although he was on the spot shown by the figures of fines and imprisonments sustained by Socialists that their attitude was not one of crawling under beds in the defence of the workers, as he has claimed, mark him a flighty, unreliable man, to say the least. Nevertheless his observations, when not only true in point of fact, but also confirmatory of what sound sense would indicate must be the fact, may well be quoted.

The above parallel columns speak volumes. How much light does not the editorial from the "Labour Leader," especially when read by the light of Ben Tillett's statement touching the abject condition of workmen in New

Zealand, throw upon the conduct of the engineers and the workmen of York who stood by the capitalist candidate Furness, and, like blackguards, assaulted the Socialist speakers! For the conduct of these unhappy men the "Labour Leader" is not wholly irresponsible. These men took stock in capitalist falsification; with better opportunities than the "Labour Leader" does the same thing. These men are ignorant of the workings of the machinery of capitalism, and do not know and, hence, do not believe that their happiness is wholly incompatible with the continuance of and under the capitalist system; with infinitely better opportunities to know than they, the "Labour Leader" incurs the identical error: by printing, under the approving head of "Worth Quoting" a string of capitalist rubbish, all intended to promote the notion that labor can be happy under capitalist domination, and that capitalist false pretences are "Socialism," the "Labour Leader" nourishes, foment, nurses and incites the very errors that gave birth to the disgraceful attitude of the working class in the recent York election, and that hold the workers back from the path of deliverance.

The class-conscious proletariat of New Zealand is not in power there. Not being in power, the condition of the working class must be there substantially what it is anywhere else. And this is the fact, all capitalist lies touching "New Zealand prosperity" to the contrary notwithstanding. Shame upon the labor paper that lends itself, however innocently, to the work of concealing this principle and these facts!

"Capitalist morality and business methods" do not seem to commend themselves to the true instincts of the Johnston, R. L., "Beacon"; it nails the hypocritical pretences with an arrow taken from the capitalists' own quiver:

"A passage in the recent letter of a jewelry manufacturing firm to a well-known trade magazine throws much light on capitalist morality and modern business methods. It says: 'Nothing pleases the jeweler of to-day, wholesale or retail, large or small, more than to cut out, undersell, outwit or throw discredit on his neighbor and brother tradesman. Yet these very honorable gentlemen meet now and then at trade banquets and socials, where honeyed speeches, smiles, sweet words, mutual admiration and the loving cup go together, though the very next day they try by all manner of means to misstate, throw discredit, evade and cheat the very neighbors that they toasted the night before, and this is called smartness.'"

## THE DAY OF JUDGMENT.

By PETER E. DUBROWES.

## THE SUN

His trillion days has run,  
And from the restless frowning clouds  
behind.

Oh, he hath seen the conquest of man-  
kind.

With shame he sees the human race un-  
done.

The slave of wage, with feeble brain and  
blind.

Insults this age, which owes us men of  
mind.

By greed; by gold undone,  
Time's purpose crossed; life's labor  
lost.

And nothing won.

[Chorus.]  
Rise, rise, in all your might, oh rise;  
For human right, oh rise,  
Ye slumbering proletaires,  
And break the bonds of night; oh rise  
Ye wakening proletaires!

## THE MOON

With radiant splendor gleams;

But him she only lights to lingering  
toil.

Glints on the shining axe, the up-  
turned soil.

Or on his weary, pallid brow she beams.  
Oh starveling child of century so royal,

Who has beguiled and made of thee a  
spoil?

The man with gold and gun,  
Thy life is crossed, thy labor lost,

And nothing won.

[Chorus.]

## THE STARS.

The tender glistening stars,

With mystic wonder hear your heart-  
born sighs;

Inquire they why the laborers never  
rise,

And what it is their life that mars.  
With body bent, with never upturned  
eyes.

In darkness pent, forgetting the blue  
skies.

Oh, Ishmael's bonded son,  
Your life is crossed, your labor lost,

And nothing won.

[Chorus.]

## THE PAST.

The disappointed past,

From graves, by anger heaved, her  
sages creep;

The groans of labor broke their hope-  
ful sleep.

They rise to find their sons outcast.  
"Prepare," they cry, "your whirlwind to  
reap!"

Your end is nigh; your tearful vigil  
keep;

Your sand is near outrun,  
Oh, plutocrat, your labor's lost,

You've nothing won.

[Chorus.]

## TO-DAY.

She blares her loud reveilles,  
And Mammon's fortress to its centre  
shakes.

The vampire boss, the golden king she  
wakes.

And murder's quaking heart her vigor  
feels.

"What words of fire upon that wall out-  
breaks?"

The lords inquire. Then labor hold up  
speaks:

"Weighed, wanting and undone,"  
The river's crossed; your battle's lost;  
Our victory's won!"

[Chorus.]

## THE YORK ELECTION.

[From London, Eng., "Justice."]

As a hastily written article on the York election unfortunately reached the office too late for insertion in last week's issue, I suppose, though the matter is somewhat stale by this time, that the readers of "Justice" will be interested in reading an account of how gloriously the workers acquitted themselves in that interesting contest.

Acting on the instructions of the Executive, I went to York to offer a little advice to the extremely hard-headed working class electors of that historic old city, arriving there on the Sunday evening previous to the election, which was fixed for the Thursday following. It was too late to do anything that night—but I was pleased to find that the local branch of the I. L. P. had advertised several meetings for the two following days in the local press.

On Sunday night, as far as I could gather, the position was this: Both Liberals and Tories had organized themselves to an extent, and were prosecuting their several campaigns with a vigor hitherto undreamt of in sleepy York, the Tories making as much capital as possible out of Furness's membership of the Engineering Employers' Federation. This Furness and his party met by saying that their candidate was, all along, the working engineers' friend at the Court of Colonel Dyer, and promised great things in the way of concessions to the engineers—when the election contest was over, but protesting, as a man of honor, that he could not turn blackleg, especially while the election fight was on.

The I. L. P. had resolved to abstain from voting, and published a resolution to that effect. The Trades Council adjourned the discussion of the election to a special meeting to be held on Monday night, but was understood to be secretly—by a large majority—in favor of supporting the union-smasher.

Through the day on Monday I held several short informal meetings, all of which I met with a most hostile reception, which, however, was only a foretaste of what awaited me, at a mass meeting called in the Market Place, under the auspices of the Social-Democratic Federation, at seven o'clock that evening. I was accompanied to the spot by several members of the I. L. P., two of whom mounted the platform along with me. There were about three thousand people present. The chairman, F. Wood, announced to the meeting that it was called together by the S. D. F., and whatever the advice given by the S. D. F. commissioner, it was in no way to be taken as coming from the I. L. P., nor was that organization to be in any way held responsible for it. Just as the chairman was about to call upon me to address the meeting, Mr. R. C. Phillimore asked him if we were aware that a telegram had been received from the headquarters of the A. S. E. in London advising the engineers to withdraw all political opposition to Sir C. Furness, as "satisfactory arrangements" had been arrived at. Now, we knew all about that precious telegram's arrival, not from the headquarters of the A. S. E. as stated, but from their north-eastern organizer, Mr. Ratcliffe.

The secretary of the local branch of the A. S. E. had paid me a visit about two hours previously, and, triumphantly flourishing the telegram, took it as a matter of course that I would forthwith withdraw all opposition to Furness, and seemed to half expect that I would even support him! To his utter astonishment, however, I informed him that even if the telegram was genuine—which I took the liberty to doubt—I would oppose him more strenuously than ever, whereupon he went into a long argument in favor of Furness, and wound up by appealing to me, with tears in his eyes, to offer no further opposition—for the sake of Socialism! The result of the interview was, of course, immediately communicated to Furness's agent and his assistants, who at once organized the gang of Liberals and Irish roughs, which successfully smashed up all our subsequent meetings, and who also had their instructions to give Hardie and myself a thorough Yorkshire kicking.

Phillimore's question was taken by the gang as the signal to commence hostilities, and they at once set up such a din that it was with the greatest difficulty, during comparative lulls in the storm, that I could make myself heard for a minute or two. I tried to tire them out, but it was of no avail—they had come to stay; we were reluctantly compelled to give up the attempt after waiting a long time. Phillimore wound up by taking off his hat and calling for three cheers for Furness. Indeed, during his visit to York, as far as I could discover, he did nothing but lie and cheer for Furness alternately.

Nothing daunted, however, immense posters were issued, announcing that next evening (Tuesday) Dave Cummings, Tom Shaw, Fillingham, Hardie and myself would address a mass meeting on the same spot. Early in the day a warning was received, in confidence, from the chairman of one of the Liberal Committees—Mr. Rowntree, of Eborac fame—advising us, Hardie and myself especially, if we valued our lives, to keep away from that meeting. Evening came, and we went and found about five thousand people already assembled from the platform, from which they were being harangued by an Irish "patriot," who dismounted when we arrived at the platform, after squeezing through the crowd. On the chairman rising to open the meeting, a roar burst from the crowd, which made it perfectly impossible to utter a word. We remained there, regarding this display of lung power with perfect coolness, but our coolness, indifference and contempt seemed to momentarily increase the rage of the chain-licking mob of slaves who surrounded and assailed us on every side with a hurricane of oaths, imprecations and filthy language. All of us in turn essayed to speak, but nothing short of a cannon could be heard in such a pandemonium. After repeated attempts to overturn our platform (a lorry), a rush was made for the shafts, and platform, speakers, reporters and all were sent flying down the hill, it being the avowed intention to send it and its occupants crashing through a large shop window at the bottom. The collision with the pavement fortunately prevented this. On looking round, I saw there were only three of us left; yet we made another attempt to speak, but the shafts were again seized, the ring-leaders shouting "to the river and over

the bridge with them." At this point we thought we had enough for once of the free and independent, the fair-minded and intelligent British workingman elector, so we got off, turned round the corner of a side street, and walked back to the I. L. P. rooms, while the mob hunted for us in every direction but the right one. It did not by any means require an extraordinary stretch of the imagination to see this raging horde of the despised hewers of wood and drawers of water being literally ridden, spurred and whipped by a crowd of parasites—union-smashing capitalists, chloroforming priests and parsons, political hacks and adventurers of every kind from the Fenian-traitor Irish "patriot," to the Fabian "Socialist," anxious for "recognition" and a "seat," and the heaven-sent labor leaders of the trade unions, who invariably lead them into the ditch.

At a meeting afterwards held in the I. L. P. rooms, the resolution of neutrality was rescinded, and the branch unanimously decided to vote for Beresford, because of the treatment received from the hands of the Liberals, and it is undoubtedly to this resolution that the Liberals owe their well-merited defeat.

All the meetings which we tried to hold afterwards were but repetitions on a smaller scale of the two described. The whole business is most cheering for men like, say, Hyndman, who with everything to lose, and nothing to gain, have sacrificed their lives and talents for such yahoos as those, who have not even sufficient self-respect to know, or feel, when they are outrageously insulted by the very people who mercifully keep their noses to the grindstone while it pays, and turn them adrift to starve when it does not. The very Trades Council would not oppose the union-smasher, and the local engineers worked harder for his success (while paying a levy of 4s. 6d. per week per member to fight him) than anybody else!

Surely the Continental Social-Democrats, who have such an exalted opinion of English trades unionism, will be able to arrive at a more adequate estimate of its value as a fighting force (save the mark) after this; and there will also, perhaps, be a slight decrease in the lofty regard, which not a few of them entertain for that interesting body of "Socialists" (to which Mr. R. C. Phillimore belongs, and which, on the principle that silence gives consent, approves of such Socialist endeavors as his).

MARTIN JUDGE.

## ON THE RUN.

(Continued from Page 1.)

the principles of labor, not only as a Socialist but as a trades unionist. He is a member of the spinners' executive, and I assure you that if one of the weavers' executive was so branded at this time, by Mr. Gompers, by President McKinley, or by any other man on American soil, he would if I could force such a conclusion, have to prove his statement or be branded as a liar.

Mr. Gompers came apparently to smooth over the dissension in the ranks of the strikers, a dissension which did not exist outside of the imagination of Mr. Gompers. The strikers are just as firm to-day as the day they struck, and I don't believe that the lamentable affair in City Hall on Wednesday will create any dissension or lose them any sympathy with the rank and file of labor in the outlying districts. Mr. Gompers also warned his audience that the Socialists were about to bring a paid Pinkerton into the city in a few days, and in this connection used language that suggested that the said Pinkerton was Daniel De Leon, who is billed to speak in the City Hall to-night. I have always had a certain amount of respect for Mr. Gompers, but when a man will stand up in front of an audience and make a deliberate statement which he knows is false and a lie, a statement made evidently for the purpose of winning over to his side an excited and passionate audience, then that man loses my respect, and I would go to the gallows protesting that he was not a gentleman.

The next episode in this affair was the series of meetings held here by Daniel De Leon, a member of the General Executive Board of the Socialist Trade & Labor Alliance. The first meeting was at the City Hall again, all the others were at the Howland Hall. The size of these meetings told a tale in themselves. The City Hall was crowded to its utmost by fully a thousand people on Friday, the 11th, and from first to last the speaker had the audience with him. We engaged a stenographer, and expect to have this address published in THE PEOPLE, and subsequently in pamphlet form; [This stenographic report has not yet been received at this office; if it arrives in time it will appear in next week's issue.] Let it here suffice to say that the presentation of New Trade Unionism could not have been better received, unless the applause with which the arguments against the labor fakirs was received is recalled. As a practical result of these meetings, and as an evidence of the ripeness of the workers for an advanced stand, it is enough to say that three Local Alliances of weavers and spinners were organized during the three days he was here by De Leon, and these will proceed forthwith to organize themselves into a District Alliance of the Socialist Trade & Labor Alliance, and thereby set up a local central body of trades unions that the capitalists cannot monkey with through their labor fakirs.

This, much for what has happened. But there is more ahead. P. J. Maguire, the leading labor fakir of the carpenters, is to be here, too. He has been sent for by the labor fakirs to "save the ship." The manner in which he has caused himself to be announced indicates how hard pressed these people are. He is announced to speak "as a Socialist," and to show that the Socialists are wrong. These fakirs first fought Socialism direct; then they claim to be Socialists but opposed to the tactics of the S. L. P. It will be interesting to see how Fakir Maguire will be able to make out that he is opposed to the S. L. P. but is otherwise Socialist himself when his paper, "The Carpenter," is chock full of articles against Karl Marx and all the European Socialist Labor parties.

In the mean time the conviction is casting deep roots that during such strike times as these the workers have the best opportunity and are in the best condition to have the Labor Question presented to them.



UNCLE SAM'S BROTHER JONATHAN

Brother Jonathan—I don't know what I am going to do!

Uncle Sam—In bad luck again?

B. J.—I should say so! Just think of it! The wages in my shop are to be reduced once more.

U. S.—That's pretty tough. And what are you going to do about it?

B. J.—There is nothing to be done about it. Times are hard, the manufacturer can't compete with his competitors, and of course he must reduce expenses.

U. S.—Do you know what struck me while you were speaking? I'll tell you. It struck me that you should formulate the reason for your cut-down this wise: "I, and all others like me, am sheep for the capitalist to shear; we have been sheared pretty close to the skin; but there being still some high wool left and the capitalist wants it, we shall meekly bow down and let him, although in the shearing some of our skin may go and we shall bleed; but the capitalist needs that to keep warm, and he must have it!"

B. J.—That's not what I said!

U. S.—It is what your words amounted to. If you did not feel like a helpless, ignorant sheep before the capitalist you would not talk about the way the competitors of your employer drive him; and, shrugging your shoulders, admit he must "reduce expenses."

B. J.—Can he compete if he sells dearer than his competitors?

U. S.—No.

B. J.—To compete with them he must sell as cheap as they.

U. S.—Granted.

B. J.—What else is there for him to do but reduce expenses?

U. S.—REDUCE PROFITS.

B. J.—What?

U. S.—REDUCE PROFITS.

B. J.—I don't catch on.

U. S.—Your employer formerly sold a bale of goods for \$100, and it cost him \$80.

B. J.—Yes.

U. S.—On that bale he made \$20.

B. J.—Yes.

U. S.—First of all, what do these \$20 represent?

B. J.—They are the employers' profits.

U. S.—Who produced that?

B. J.—Who? Why, him; who?

U. S.—Yes, who? Your very doubt shows how much of a sheep you are.

Who produced it, why YOU, and he stole it, stole it from you.

B. J. looks amazed.

U. S.—Now, let's proceed. The \$10 your employer made on the bale of goods that he formerly sold for \$100 is wool clipped from you, is wealth produced by you, and kept by him. Now, his competitors manage somehow or other to produce such a bale of goods at the expense of \$80, and they offer it for sale at \$90, thereby making \$10 as before.

B. J.—I think you understand the situation.

U. S.—Just wait. Your employer cannot sell at \$100 as before.

B. J.—That's it.

U. S.—No one will buy from him for \$100 if the stuff can be got for \$90.

B. J.—You begin to understand me.

U. S.—Your employer will have to reduce his price to \$90.

B. J.—Just so.

U. S.—But if his expenses are \$80—

B. J.—He can't compete.

U. S.—If his expenses are \$80, you sheep, he can't MAKE PROFITS. That's the point.

B. J.—What point?

U. S.—The point I am trying to make you understand. In order to make profits he must "reduce expenses." But is it at all necessary for you to submit to being sheared? Tell me. Do you imagine that a purchaser would refuse to pay \$90 for a bale of goods if it cost that much to produce it, but



# GERMANY.

For the past thirty years the Socialist movement has so deeply affected the intellectual, political and economic life of the German people that a full record of the events connected with its progress in Germany would in itself be an almost complete history of that country during that period. There is no room here for a work of such magnitude, and in the presentation of the subject before us we must confine ourselves to the statement of a comparatively few facts, deemed the most important. Yet, in justice to some bold pioneers who, ever so utopian in their constructive schemes, should not be forgotten, we may properly begin with a brief mention of the earlier German "Communists," as they usually styled themselves, or "Socialists," as we now term them.

There are in the works of Fichte, as early as 1793, utterances plainly Socialistic. In that year, commenting upon the French Revolution, which had then reached its most critical period, this eminent German philosopher said: "The only legitimate title to property is labor. He who will not work has no valid claims to the means of life. He should not be allowed to sustain himself in idleness by exploiting the productive powers of another." Again, in 1796, he wrote: "Society owes to all the means to labor and all must labor to live." He emphatically declared that no property right should be recognized or respected which enabled the idler to hold the industrious in his dependence; for "the social contract was then violated in its fundamental principle." Later, he attempted to outline a new social order, founded on "equal rights" and "association," so as to insure distributive justice and "the largest possible product for the least possible effort." "I cannot," he said, "consider as permanent the present state of society." I see in it a mere transitory condition, through which we must pass in order to reach a higher plane of human existence." Confidently watching the progress of science, despite the ill use that was made of it, he clearly foresaw that the day must come when, master of nature, man would no longer submit to the despotism of his fellow man.

But those were days in which utterances of this sort necessarily fell dead upon the public ear; and many more days had to pass away before any such views could become popular or even begin to excite interest. The French invasions; the concessions opportunistly made to the Prussian peasantry after the battle of Jena (concessions to which we shall refer at some length later on); then, the Liberation Wars, and lastly, the fall of Napoleon, which, instead of serving the cause of freedom, was immediately followed throughout Europe by an era of violent reaction and absolute despotism, left no room in the public mind for questions that were not of a purely political character. Moreover, the modern system of industry—the factory system—did not yet exist in Germany; and so long as a deep economic change had not occurred or was not visibly impending in the traditional conditions of the great artisan class of that country, the practical attention of that class could not be diverted from its ordinary channels by considerations which it would naturally be inclined to dismiss as speculative and utopian.

Political liberty—the freedom of the press, of speech, of meeting, of association—was, however, a subject in which the classes that had little or no part in the management of public affairs were ever ready to take a keen interest. The arbitrary conduct of the authorities in all the German States, and especially in Prussia, where censorship and Police regulation had practically become the only law, was productive of widespread discontent. When at last the Paris revolution of 1830 shattered in a few hours the old order that the reactionary forces of Europe confidently boasted of having permanently restored in 1815, there was in many parts of Germany a strong democratic sentiment, which, although unorganized, alarmed the ruling powers by its sudden manifestations. The reigning Duke of Brunswick was deposed. Saxony, Baden, Württemberg, Hanover and Bavaria clamored for constitutions. In several States legislatures were elected in which the "liberal" element was predominant. The Federal Diet, however, promptly came to the rescue of despotism. It was, of course, a "patriotic" body. Under the false pretense of upholding the integrity of the Federation—which had never been threatened but by the intrigues and ambitions of the petty tyrants among whom the territory of the fatherland was parcelled out—it upheld the sovereigns against their respective "subjects," declared it the duty of each State to sustain the ruler of another by the force of arms, refused to consider or even receive the appeals made to its own august body by the injured populations, curtailed the authority of the State diets, or parliaments, enlarged its own powers and took from the press every vestige of freedom which it still retained in some States, and every right which it had lately obtained in others.

The immediate effect of these drastic measures was a widespread but abortive conspiracy looking to a simultaneous uprising in various parts of Germany. An untimely and insignificant outbreak at Frankfurt on the 3d of April, 1833, defeated the object of the revolutionists, many of whom were swiftly tracked, arrested and sentenced to long terms of imprisonment. Of those who escaped some went to Paris, where they met other political refugees, not only from their own country but from all parts of the European continent.

At that time the utopian schools of St. Simon and Fourier had nearly reached their apogee, and in the flood of light cast by their eminent disciples in all the modern directions of thought the social question was rapidly coming to the front. Absorbed in political conspiracy, the German exiles did not at first give much attention to this new movement. Three of them—Venedey, Müller and Dr. Schuster—peculiarly sustained by two hundred German workmen residing in the fatherland, published in the French capital a democratic revolutionary paper, entitled "The Proscribed," but their views were of a purely republican political order and in economics they did not venture beyond the graduated tax. Soon, however, others moved forward. An excellent translation of Lamennais' "Words of a Believer," made by Boerne, and various translations of Eugene Sue's "Wandering Jew," "Mysteries of Paris," etc., attained a wide circulation in Germany. Of course the success of those works was determined by their sentimental and political side, rather than by the economic, which was either imperceptible or entirely absent. Nevertheless, some of the Socialist seed which they contained fell into ground where, by the very nature of things, it was bound to germinate. For, in 1838, among the popular orators noted for their political radicalism, we find the journeyman tailor Bernhardi, surnamed Jesus Christ by his comrades because of the revolutionary character of his utterances on social equality. At about the same time appeared a thoughtful, well-written communistic pamphlet, entitled, "The One Thousand Years' Kingdom," from the pen of another wage worker, a brush-maker, named Dietsch.

The frequent reports of proletarian revolts in various towns of France and of Chartist riots in England were also the cause of much animated discussion in the industrial centers of Germany. Moreover, by this time a number of the German exiles residing in Paris, chiefly belonging to the working class, had resolutely entered the social revolutionary movement, secretly organized into a "League of the Just." Their clubs participated in the insurrection of 1839, and among those who fell wounded by the side of the French Communist leader, Barbès, was the German shoemaker Augustin; a suggestive occurrence, which then was commented upon with "patriotic" indignation by the French middle class and its prosecuting attorneys. It was, indeed, a first notice of international proletarian solidarity served upon that class, not only in France but in all countries.

And now appeared another wage-worker, a journeyman tailor, whose works and activity were for several years an important factor in the development of communistic ideas among the working people of Germany. His name was Wilhelm Weitling, his birthplace Leipzig. He had been a member of the League of the Just, and was well acquainted with the literary productions of the various schools, French and English, which divided the utopians of his day. His own plan of social reorganization, though containing many original and valuable ideas, was in its main features a combination of the St. Simonian, Fourierist and Owenist systems. His first work, "Humanity: What It Is; What It Must Be," was chiefly critical, but brimful of lofty sentiments. His second and more important one, published in 1842, was entitled: "Guarantees of Harmony and Liberty." His disciples, poor and self-sacrificing workmen, who lost no opportunity of spreading the views which he had verbally impressed upon them, and who constantly felt the need of printed literature in their work of propaganda, had told him: "Write for us, we shall work for you." By extreme frugality Weitling made himself a very light burden upon them, and all were morally rewarded beyond expectation by the great success of his books.\*

Exiled from Germany, expelled from France, Weitling had sought refuge in Switzerland. Other German agitators, similarly persecuted, had preceded him there, and he soon found himself a leading figure among them. As the number of their converts among the Swiss workmen was steadily increasing, the local authorities took umbrage at their activity, and the cantonal governments of Bern, Zurich and Geneva successively expelled Weitling. Finally, the federal government ordered an inquiry into the threatening development of German Communism in Switzerland. The federal councillor Bluntchli, who made the official report, inserted therein a number of manuscripts that had been seized by the police at Weitling's residence. Owing to its official character, this report was freely circulated in Germany by the Communists themselves, who found it a most convenient and effective instrument of propaganda. None of the literature previously at their command had done them such good service.

The increasing persecution to which the most active German Communists were subjected in their own country, and the petty annoyances which awaited in Switzerland those who sought shelter there, drove a number of them to other lands. Some went to Belgium, others to London, and a few, among whom was Hermann Kriege, emigrated to America. Weitling himself finally made New York his home, and died there in 1871. He had not, at first, welcomed as desirable allies in the class struggle those German philosophers who (like Rodbertus, Ch. Grün, etc.), awakened from their transcendental reveries by the steady tramp of the proletariat, turned their attention to the social question. The past indifference of their tribe to the sufferings and destiny of his own class, the assumption of superior wisdom which had been a characteristic of their profession, and the readiness with which men of little learning but naturally correct judgment could be confused and bamboozled by word-mongers and equivocalists, did not commend to his proletarian mind these new and as yet untried volunteers from the aristocracy of intellect. But by the clear notes of Karl Marx's philosophy he soon recognized that a man had come from that suspicious quarter who was truly a friend as well as a superior intellect. Long before his death, Weitling had accepted that philosophy and contributed in New York to the building up of the International Workingmen's Association.

Our object in these pages is not to trace step by step the progress of economic science, but, as already stated, to record the chief events in the march of militant Socialism. That the former had upon the latter a direct influence, is a proposition sufficiently evident to require no demonstration. But a sim-

ultaneous review of both, or a consideration of the relative merits of the men who, as economists, contributed in various degrees to the attainment of sound doctrine, however instructive or interesting, would carry us far beyond the limits of our undertaking. For this reason we can only make a brief mention of such writers as Winkelblech and Rodbertus, whose titles to scientific recognition are fully established, but who never took an active part in the proletarian movement.

Professor Winkelblech, of the Higher Industrial College of Cassel, is better known under his assumed name of Karl Mario. In the preface to his History and Critique of Economic Systems he narrates that in 1838, traveling in Norway, he met a German workman who so vividly described to him the sufferings of the laboring population that he was led to ask himself why those things were, and whether they needed be. "Hitherto, in visiting the seats of industry, he had, as he says, allowed machines to monopolize his attention and never thought of men; he had been taken up with the products of human labor and overlooked the laborers; hence he had no idea of the misery which underlay our vaunted civilization. The burning words of this plain workman had caused him to fully realize the vanity of his own so-called science, and in a few moments he had strongly resolved to investigate the sufferings of our race, their causes and remedies." Once upon this track he could readily, as the St. Simonians and the Fourierists had done before him, criticize the capitalistic order and show that the evils of society were caused by its institutions. The remedy was a matter of far greater difficulty. His suggestions in this respect were not on a level with his denunciations. He had evidently read Malthus, and been impressed with the ghost of over-population. Nor did he comprehend the pitiless nature of the class struggle, despite his historic understanding of the evolution of the proletariat. He fondly believed that by the side of a system founded on private property, and therefore, inevitably productive of class rule and class absorption, another could be established by the public powers—that is, by the ruling class itself—founded on collective property and industrial co-operation, for the benefit of the disinherited and expropriated. In other words, he believed that capitalism could be induced to give back with one hand what it took with the other; to make free men of those whose enslavement was necessary to its existence; to commit har-kari for the sake of humanity.

Rodbertus was a man of great intellectual powers, and some anti-socialists, recognizing that fact, have for their own obvious purposes made themselves his special-admirers in an attempt to dim the glory of Karl Marx by raising a question of priority between the two writers concerning the surplus-value theory. In his preface to the second volume of Capital, Frederick Engels has fully answered the arguments produced in favor of Rodbertus' claim to precedence, and we can do no better than to refer the student to the preface in question. He showed that for any new and correct idea which Marx had found in Rodbertus, or for that matter in any of his predecessors, Marx had given due credit; that the existence of that part of the value of the product which we now call surplus-value was established long before Marx, and indeed long before Rodbertus, but that "no one got any further;" that the investigations of Marx led him to take up a position "in direct opposition to all his predecessors;" that "by distinguishing between constant and variable capital he succeeded in exposing and thus explaining the real process of formation of surplus-value in all its details, which none of his predecessors had done;" that he also proved the existence of a difference in capital itself, "with which Rodbertus was no more able than the bourgeois economists to do anything, though it furnishes the key to the solution of the most complicated economic problems;" and that "on the basis of surplus value he developed the first rational theory of wages which we have had, and for the first time gave the characteristics of a history of capitalist accumulation and a representation of its historical tendency."

In our candid opinion the controversy is fully settled. Its determination one way or the other was never, in fact, of the least importance to the Socialist movement. Of course, as a thorough scientist, Marx availed himself of all the knowledge of his day, correcting the errors of his predecessors and using for the purpose of further discovery all the truths which they had established. Inasmuch as it may be of interest to know how much further he went than they had gone, it may safely be said that he went immensely further, and that he distanced Rodbertus as much in the economic field as in the field of practical organization, or militant work, which the comfortably situated theorist of Jagelzow and occasional supporter of Bismarck never entered. Certainly, if the depth of a man's knowledge were to be measured by its influence upon his actions, the inevitable conclusion concerning Rodbertus, granting his honesty, would be that his understanding of the social question was very limited. That he rejected Lassalle's request for his co-operation in the organization of the working class would not in itself prove anything against Rodbertus if his objection had simply been that he had no confidence in the particular scheme proposed. But what should we think to-day of a so-called "scientific Socialist" who would declare, as he did on that occasion, that "he could tolerate no agitation which would excite the working class against the existing government?"

For the reasons already stated, no attempt can be made here to review, even briefly, the labors of Marx as a critical philosopher and social revolutionist, applying to the practical affairs of the class struggle, with mathematical accuracy, his scientific theory of human progress. His life has not yet been written, and until a competent historian, capable of doing full justice to his subject, undertakes to fill this deficiency, we must refer the inquirer to Marx's own works, supplemented by such biographical sketches as have from time to time appeared over the signatures of persons near to him by relationship or association. Of his influence on modern thought, constantly growing as the years roll by, and of the momentum he imparted to Socialism during his lifetime, any one acquainted even superficially with the Socialist movement, is fully aware. Having so far digressed from our chief object in broadly surveying the ground covered by his predecessors, we may now take up the thread of events at the time of his appearance.

After the failure of the Paris insurrection led by the Communist Barbès in 1839, the headquarters of the League of the Just were transferred to London. Here its leaders met Frederick Engels in 1843, the year in which his valuable work on the "Condition of the Working Class in England" was published.

"Frederick Engels," says Hugo Vogt in the article on German Socialism previously quoted in a footnote, "had lived for some time in Manchester. There he studied the actual workings of capitalism, which was already well developed in England. His studies, probably stimulated by the Chartist agitation and largely aided by his Hegelian philosophic training, led him to a new theory of history. He found that the economic conditions are the controlling factors of history—modern history at least; that from them all class divisions spring, and that class divisions, where they have been fully worked out by the industrial development, lie at the bottom of all political struggles and determine the course of political history."

Karl Marx had at about the same time reached similar conclusions. When the two men met in Paris in 1844 and found that they held substantially the same views, they jointly developed them into a comprehensive system of materialistic history. From this standpoint they began to see the Communist movements in a new light. French and German Communism and English Chartistism were to them no longer casual phenomena, that would not have been but for the agitation of their founders and leaders; these movements appeared now as the first self-emancipating efforts of the modern proletariat, the oppressed wage class, in its necessary struggle with the capitalist class. With the victory of the proletariat the whole people will come into possession of economic and political power, and all class divisions will disappear. While the struggle will thus naturally result in the reconstruction of society on a Socialist basis, the way to promote the process is not by hatching out a most perfect plan of the ideal society, but by finding the true nature, the existing conditions and the inevitable tendencies of this historic struggle.

Marx and Engels gradually succeeded in impressing their views upon the leaders of the League of the Just, which, at a convention held in the summer of 1847, was reorganized under the new name of 'League of the Communists,' and adopted in its platform the above outlined position. In the first article of that platform it was declared to be the object of the League to bring about the downfall of the bourgeoisie, to place the proletariat into power, to supersede the old bourgeois social order based on class antagonisms by the establishment of a new society without classes and without private property. At a second congress, held towards the close of the same year, the League instructed Marx and Engels to draw up a declaration of principles. From their pen issued in the beginning of 1848, a few weeks before the February revolution, the now famous 'Communist Manifesto.'

From 1848 to 1852 the Communist League exercised a wide-reaching influence in the revolutionary movement of Germany. Not only had it affiliated branches in all parts of the country, but indirectly controlled most of the numerous workmen's, peasants' and turners' organizations that had sprung up and whose leaders had everywhere been made members of the League. They took a most active part in the Revolution of 1848, and were indeed the most determined element in it. Although recognizing the middle class character of it, they went into it because it was in the interest of the proletariat as well as of the bourgeoisie to wipe out the feudal institutions and also in order to use the popular movement for the propagation of their ideas. When the Revolution was vanquished and reaction set in, the communists were the first and most numerous victims of persecution. Their clubs and all the organizations under their control disbanded. The League was reorganized on a secret basis but could not withstand the reaction, and in 1853 it had disappeared entirely.

Then followed several years of deep apathy among the German working people. In spite of the reaction capitalism was securely establishing itself on the industrial field. There was an enormous activity everywhere. Capital was building railroads, factories, warehouses, amassing wealth and agglomerating proletarians in great centers, thus preparing the ground and concentrating the forces for a new labor movement.

Having become powerful industrially and socially the bourgeoisie began to assert itself politically. The Progressist party, representing that class, engaged in a struggle for power with the Government party, representing landed aristocracy. In order to strengthen themselves and at the same time prevent an independent or hostile organization of the laboring class, the Progressists undertook to organize the wage working proletariat under their own leadership. Schultze-Delitzsch, the originator of the scheme, was entrusted with the management of it, and he began in 1853 to form workmen's societies of various kinds in all parts of the country. These were benefit societies, credit supply, and even co-operative manufacturing societies; but the most numerous and important were the educational societies. The object of the latter was to 'educate' workmen in general matters of science, art, invention, and last, but not least, in the great principles of the Progressist party, to which they were taught it was their first duty to become devotedly attached. In the course of time men with Socialist ideas managed to obtain membership in some of these clubs. In 1862 the workmen's club of Leipzig had among its members two Communists of the Weitling school, Julius Vahlteich and William Fritzsche. When it decided to call a convention of workmen's societies it was on the suggestion of Vahlteich that they applied to Ferdinand

Lassalle for advice as to the best programme for such a convention, and as to the best means of ameliorating the condition of the working class.

Lassalle was born at Breslau in 1825. He had become acquainted with the ideas of Marx and Engels in 1848. He had then and since been occasionally in personal communication with them and had studied their writings, notably Engels' "Condition of the Working Class in England" and Marx's "Critical Review of Political Economy," the latter of which was published in 1859. He had taken an active part in the Revolution of 1848 and 1849, but during the reactionary period he withdrew from all political movements and devoted himself to literary pursuits. He had established a reputation as a man of great learning and talent by his work on the "Philosophy of Heraclitus" (1859) and his "System of Acquired Rights" (1860). In 1859 he had also published a pamphlet on "The Italian War and the Mission of Prussia," in which he demanded in the name of democracy that Prussia establish the unity of Germany by forcibly taking the German provinces of Austria and annexing the Holstein provinces of Denmark. The Progressist party had gradually watered its platform and among the democratic demands which it had abandoned was this most essential of all, Universal Suffrage. Such retrogression, and also the weakness displayed by its leaders in the conduct of the conflict with the government had convinced Lassalle that nothing could be expected from that party towards securing democratic institutions—a hope which alone might have warranted an affiliation of the working class with the Progressist bourgeoisie until that had been accomplished. In 1862 he had opened a fierce campaign against the Progressists by several lectures delivered in Berlin, which first attracted general attention to him. The echo of his voice had not died away when in the beginning of 1863 he received the invitation of the Leipzig workmen's club.

He responded by his "Open Letter," issued March 1, 1863, in which he formulated the programme for the great agitation of the following years. He showed the inefficiency of the petty associative schemes of Schultze-Delitzsch and pointed out general co-operation, which would do away with the employer and his profit, as the only means of amelioration, because it alone could cancel the iron law of wages which rendered all palliative reforms nugatory. This co-operative system, he said, could be established by organizing and gradually extending co-operative industries on a large scale with the financial aid and credit of the State. This necessary State help would never be granted to the working class by the Progressist or any other bourgeois party. The working class must consequently organize as an independent political party, and, first of all, strive to secure the franchise, which would enable them to obtain control of the legislative powers. He therefore concluded with the recommendation that a "General Society of German Workmen" be formed, that would concentrate all its efforts on this one point, Universal Suffrage.

In accordance with that recommendation, a society was formed, under that name and for that purpose, at a congress of workmen held at Leipzig on May 22, 1863. Lassalle was tendered and accepted the presidency of it. He immediately opened an aggressive campaign and soon gained an enthusiastic following, especially in the industrial districts on the Rhine, which had been the strongholds of the Communist movement in 1848. Lectures, pamphlets, essays, followed each other with extraordinary rapidity, forming together a treasure of propagandist literature, clear, convincing, brilliant, embracing his own propositions and the whole range of economic and historic doctrine known as German or Marxist Socialism. True, although he created a deep impression upon the laboring masses throughout Germany, he did not succeed in drawing as many into the organization as he had hoped. But he accomplished a result of the highest importance; he dug the grave of the sham labor reforms of the Schultze-Delitzsch type. After dealing these humbugologists many a heavy blow in his public addresses he finished them, so to speak, systematically and radically in his "Bastiat-Schultze," published in January, 1864. The prestige of the Schultze school was broken, and it was only a question of time when there would be nothing left of it.

Lassalle's career as a Socialist agitator was unexampled in brilliancy, but short. Involved in a romantic quarrel which had no relation to the labor movement, he was killed in a duel at Geneva on the 31st of August, 1864. A few weeks later (September 28, 1864), the International Association of Workmen, initiated by Marx in 1861, was definitely founded in London.

## CORRESPONDENCE.

### Timely Reflections.

TO THE PEOPLE.—The State of Ohio just recently furnished two significant items of news, both of which are cause for Socialist rejoicing.

First, the election of Hanna to the United States Senate. The defeat of Hanna would have demoralized the Republican party in Ohio for some time to come. And the election of a man professedly a Republican, but pledged to the Chicago platform of the Democratic party would have thrown political matters in general into confusion.

That Hanna was elected is welcomed by Socialists because it thrusts forward the clearly defined issue between Capitalism and Socialism. Hanna and the Republican party not only represent, but unblushingly foster, cultivate and develop the extreme of capitalism; it is with this advance guard that Socialism locks horns.

Socialism recognizes but two classes—the capitalist class and the working class. The capitalist class is subdivided; that is, there are grades of capitalists, from the small manufacturer, agriculturist and tradesman, up to those who, by combination or other reason, enjoy a complete monopoly of their particular business. But as a whole, the capitalist class owns all the sources of wealth and all of the tools necessary for wealth production. So, too, the political party of capitalism has its subdivision, as Republican, Democratic, Populist and Prohibition.

Each of the subdivisions champions the special interest of some particular grade of capitalism, but as a whole they represent capitalist interests in general. They also serve to divide the non-class-conscious workers;—and that, politically, the workers are divided by the economic interests of their capitalist masters is proven by the fact that the extreme capitalists, least in numbers, but greatest in wealth, have the largest political following. The working class, on the contrary, has no subdivisions. The worker individually and as a whole owns nothing but his labor power—that power without which wealth cannot be produced. Yet this class must sell its labor power to that class which holds as its own the sources of wealth and the tools for its production.

As economically there can be no subdivision of those who own nothing but their labor power, so politically there can be no subdivision of the Socialist Labor Party, which represents the working class. The principle of the S. L. P. is that the production of wealth shall be by all of the people and for the enjoyment of all the people. That in Ohio nothing obscures the issue between the party of civilization and freedom and that party based upon the barbarism of wage-slavery is sufficient cause for gladness, going as that does, hand in hand with the growth of the Socialist Labor Party. So long as we must have capitalism, let us have it in full bloom. The swift recurring victories of capitalism are but speeding the day of our emancipation. When Rome was at the height of its power it produced the conditions which brought about its own downfall.

The battle is now in the open and the class conscious ballot will find its mark every time.

The second item from Ohio was the call of our party there for 10,000 votes. We must rejoice at this call as evidence that our Ohio comrades are valiant men who will not quail in their demand for popular rights. The work they have outlined will surely result in bringing an ever multiplying host to confront the insolent robber class of capitalists. All hail to the Socialists of Ohio, who have raised higher the glorious flag of universal emancipation.

JOHN HOSSACK.

Jersey City, Feb. 6.

### Professor Green Goods Again.

TO THE PEOPLE.—In a lecture delivered at the Guntion Institute of Economic Insanity I find the professor making this startling observation: "Our doctrine welds together the in-

terests of the laborers with those of the whole community and the laborers' interests with the permanent success of the capitalists."

By "our doctrine" I suppose the professor means the doctrine of Garrett A. Hobart, Thos. B. Reed, Lyman J. Gage, Levi P. Morton, Roswell P. Flower and Prof. Green Goods Guntion, as I find the above gentlemen are Institute COUNSELLORS.

As the counselors are men who live on the labor of others, and as their incomes arise from the fact that they withhold the biggest part of the wealth produced by the laboring class, and also from special legislation that gives them the power to tax the working masses, how can any doctrine "reconcile the interests of the robbed and the robber?"

If the counselors gave to the workers the full product of their labor (to which they have a right) the counselors would have to go to work and the capitalist system would fall—for profits are the basis of that system, and unless somebody is robber profits cannot arise.

The fact is that there can be no doctrine containing even an element of truth which can "weld together the interests of the capitalist and of the laborer;" the only advantage of trying to invent such a theory is that the capitalist class may be willing to pay well for it.

Borough of Brooklyn, Feb. 10, '98.

### On the Late Machinists' Strike.

TO THE PEOPLE.—I have mailed you this date a copy of the Manchester, England, "News," of date Jan. 24 or 25, containing amended agreement between the Employers' Federation and the Amalgamated Society of Engineers, thinking that perhaps the information therein contained might be useful to you. By it will be seen that the men, as foreshadowed in THE PEOPLE'S editorial recently, have utterly failed to gain anything by the strike. In fact the memoranda of agreement means, if it means anything, that the employers can do anything they please, hire or discharge, put laborers on machines, employ apprentices without number, work overtime without limit; the men SHALL do so and so; the employers will ADVISE their people to do such and such.

How much easier it would have been for these men to have, "without the loss of an hour's pay," crushed the power of these capitalists to oppress them by the right use of their ballots! The result of that strike ought to make a million Socialist votes in England. But will it? They are already proposing to federate and perpetuate their impotence.

M. R. D.

Oncontia, N. Y., Feb. 9.

## TWO OF A KIND.

(Continued from Page 1.)

spent a week in Homestead, where the Carnegie steel company's employees have recently received a wage reduction ranging from 10 to 60 per cent. The apostle held forth every evening during the week and wound up his "labors" with a grand rally and a grand speech, in which the apostle referred to the new public free library in course of construction in Homestead, and donated by Carnegie as a "munificent gift from a munificent friend to the people." He further stated: "You workmen and citizens of Homestead would be ungrateful and the basest of ingrates did you fail to bow down in homage to the great philanthropist who has presented your city with this splendid edifice." He also stated— "but hold on, enough of this; my gorge rises at it, and I have to face that fiery furnace at 3 a. m. tomorrow morning."

It has since leaked out that the local manager of the Homestead Steel Works donated, in the name of the Carnegie Steel Co., a snug sum of money to the Murphy temperance fund. See anything? Yours fraternally,

"RED BUTTON."

The receipt of a sample copy of this paper is an invitation to subscribe.

\* In Weitling's ideal society all labor is divided into two classes, namely: The labor required to supply the primary needs of man—food, clothing, shelter and education; and the labor applied to the production of luxuries. Of the necessary labor everyone who is able must contribute his share. The change must be accomplished by the laboring class taking possession of the government. A dictator is to be appointed to manage affairs until the new social order is fully established. —"Socialism in Germany," by Hugo Vogt, in the Workers' Advocate, March, 1890.

\* See "Karl Marx," by Eleanor Marx, reprinted from "Progress" (1893) in THE PEOPLE of August 8, 1897; also, "Socialism from Utopia to Science," by Frederick Engels, and various references in other works of the same author to his co-operation with Marx.



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### PARTY NEWS.

#### Activity of Militant Socialists East, West, North and South.

##### SOCIALIST LABOR PARTY.

NATIONAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE—Secretary Henry Kuhn, 184 William Street, N. Y.  
NATIONAL BOARD OF APPEALS—Secretary Robert Handlow, 193 Chambers St., New York, N. Y.

##### National Executive Committee.

Comrade Southwick presided at the meeting held Feb. 15th. The financial report for the week ending Feb. 12th showed receipts to have been \$151.82; expenditures, \$70.27; balance for the week \$81.55.

Correspondence from Michigan and Washington indicated lively work for the party, and in the latter State a State organization is now in sight.

Section Canton, Ohio, reported the expulsion of John Stofken for misrepresenting the party's principles and giving false information about the party to capitalist newspaper reporters.

Charters were granted to new Sections in San Buenaventura and Kewick, Cal.; Tumwater, Wash.; Saginaw, Mich.; Lonsdale, R. I.

L. A. MALKIEL, Rec. Secy.

##### General Agitation Fund.

Previously acknowledged ..... \$365.45  
H. Schoeps, West Hoboken ..... 50  
N. J. ..... 50  
Justus Kraft, Closter, N. J. .... 50

Total ..... \$366.45

HENRY KUHN, Secy.

##### Canada.

Section London, Ontario, met on Saturday evening, Feb. 12th, at 8 p. m. in K. of P. Hall, Dundas block. Comrade Westland was voted to the chair. Minutes of meeting of Feb. 5th confirmed. The Section elected officers as follows: Organizer, Comrade H. B. Ashplant; financial secretary, Comrade A. P. Baxter; recording secretary, Comrade P. Baxter.

Grievance Committee—Comrades Elsy, Boyle and Westland.

Executive and Programme Committee—Comrades Lehman, Burch, Radway, Marshall and Jackson, with officers ex-officio members.

Nine new members signed the application form. Communication from Nat. Ex. Section (Montreal, P. Q.), enclosed the stamps and membership cards, and reported that charter would be forwarded immediately after next meeting of National Executive. A number of interesting questions bearing on the relation of the party to other political parties, and also other reform organizations, were answered by the organizer.

The Section adjourned, to meet at same hall, at 8 p. m., Saturday, Feb. 19th.

##### Kentucky.

LOUISVILLE, Ky., Jan. 25.—The addresses to be delivered by Comrades during the month of February are as follows:

Sunday, 20th—"What would be the result of the taxation of machinery?" R. P. Caldwell (in English).

Sunday, 13th—"The decadence of the people's liberties." F. Gley (in German).

Sunday, 27th—"The Debs Democracy and the S. L. P." Jos. Vogel (in German).

The meetings during January proved very interesting, and it behooves the Comrades to work for an increased attendance, especially at the English meetings. Fraternally,

JOHN HUTZ, Organizer.

##### New Jersey.

Section Essex County, N. J., will hold their municipal convention at 75 Springfield Avenue, Newark, N. J., on Washington's Birthday, Feb. 22d, at 2 p. m.

##### New York.

The West Side Assembly Districts, S. L. P., Borough of Manhattan, have arranged a monster mass meeting to be held on Saturday, Feb. 26, 8 p. m., at Bloomingdale Turn Verein Hall, 54th Street and 8th Avenue. On this occasion a free lecture by Comrade H. Carless, subject: "When Prosperity Will Come," will be delivered and illustrated by gorgeous stereoscopic views. Pictures of machinery and social conditions will be displayed during the lecture. The West Side Assembly Districts, S. L. P., have further decided to parade on this evening, and will start 7 p. m. sharp from the West Side Union Hotel, 242 W. 12d Street, and march with music direct to the hall. Comrades and sympathizers of the West Side should not fail to fall in line and make the parade and mass meeting a great success.

Regular meeting of the General Committee of Section Greater New York, S. L. P., will be held on Saturday, Feb. 19th, at 8 p. m., at the Labor Lyceum, 64 East 4th Street, Borough of Manhattan. Delegates should not fail to attend, as matters of importance will come up.

L. ABELSON, Organizer.

Section Greater New York, S. L. P.

The New York Choral Society, having for its principal object to assist labor organizations, has been organized Feb. 6th, 1898.

N. Y. City.—Under auspices of the Yorkville Agitation Committee, a public meeting will be held at Bohemian National Hall, 321-325 E. 73d Street, next Tuesday. Comrade James Allman will lecture. Comrades and residents on the East Side are earnestly invited to attend.

Free lectures by James Allman to be held at Bohemian National Hall, 321-325 E. 73d Street, beginning at 8 o'clock p. m.

Feb. 22—"The Economics of Socialism." Mar. 1—"The Co-operative Commonwealth."

Socialist Labor Party, 15th Assembly District of Greater New York: Sunday evening lectures, free to everybody, at Stuyvesant Hall, 351 East 15th Street, near 1st Avenue, New York City.

Business meeting every Thursday, 8 p. m., at 246 1st Avenue, between 14th and 15th Streets. Come and join.

Programme of lectures for February, 1898:

Feb. 20—"Fort Pounds." Lecturer, Charles Teche.

Feb. 27—"Conflicting Social Dynamics." Lecturer, James Allman.

Lectures commence promptly at 8 p. m.

New York Socialist Literary Society, Sunday afternoon lectures and discussions on political, social and economic questions, at the Club Rooms, 100 Clinton Street, New York City. Free to everybody.

Programme of lectures for February, 1898:

Feb. 23—"N. G. Tchernichewsky as a Socialist and Nihilist." Lecturer, S. O. Pollack.

Feb. 27—"The Origin of Government." Lecturer, N. J. Stone.

H. REICH, Lecture Agent.

Young Men's Socialist Educational Club, 16th Assembly District, S. L. P. Free lectures to the people at the Club House, 98 Avenue C. Popular course every Sunday. Programme for February, 1898:

Feb. 20—"Old and New Trade Unions." Thomas Hickey.

Feb. 27—"The Proletariat." A. S. Brown.

Scientific course every Wednesday:

Feb. 2—"The Poetry of Socialism." James Allman.

Feb. 9—"Evolution of Society." Lucien Saniel.

Feb. 16—"The Ethics of Socialism." James Allman.

Feb. 23—"The Aesthetics of Socialism." James Allman.

Questions pertaining to lecture will be answered.

Lectures commence promptly at 8 p. m.

Brooklyn Lectures and Discussions on Political, Social and Economic Questions, every Sunday evening, Wurzel's Hall, 315 Washington Street.

FEBRUARY PROGRAMME:

Sunday, Feb. 20—"A Revolutionary Poet." James Allman.

Sunday, Feb. 27—"The Situation in China—and Elsewhere." Charles H. Matcett.

All lectures begin at 8 p. m., and occupy about 45 minutes. We invite discussion after each lecture, limiting speakers to six minutes. At 9:45 the discussion will be ended by the closing remarks of the speaker.

YONKERS, Feb. 7.—Section Yonkers has secured a fine large room for permanent headquarters at 36 North Broadway, Yonkers. Regular meetings every Tuesday evening and lectures every Thursday. The lectures are held at Steadman's Hall, 14 Getty Square, as follows:

Feb. 24—"The Economics of Socialism."

March 3—"The Co-operative Commonwealth."

The lecturer is Comrade James Allman, and so far the lectures have been well attended and very instructive.

ROCHESTER, Feb. 13—"All hands on deck!" is the order prevailing at Section Rochester at the present time.

A great improvement was made here by gradually abolishing linguistic lines and reorganizing the former two American and German Sections into ward branches, five of which have grown into self-sustaining and aggressive organizations.

The Rochester "Socialist," a monthly paper gotten up mostly for local agitation work, is published in several thousand copies and distributed all over the city with good results.

Another great factor in our local movement is the Labor Lyceum, started last winter by a number of our Comrades for the purpose of awakening and stimulating the study of social economic questions. Our meetings are held Sunday afternoons, and all the great lights of reform are invited to present their peculiar patent medicine, to find to their sorrow that our irrepressible critics understand the business of analyzing and dissecting the sham and the real substances contained in these "literary" productions, generally bringing these reformers to the final confession: "Oh, I have always been somewhat of a Socialist myself." A few weeks ago we were so fortunate to secure Comrade W. Edlin to stop over with us to address the Labor Lyceum, which was indeed a great success both as to the excellent, logical and scientific presentation of the subject of Socialism and also in point of attendance, many being unable to enter the hall. Next Sunday we shall have Dr. E. A. Wood, of Syracuse, lecturing here on "Biology," a subject delivered before the Syracuse society a few weeks ago in a masterly manner. Any Comrades traveling through this Section are cordially invited to stop over to give us a call at the Lyceum. One of the main features at our last Section meeting was the election of new officers. Comrade W. Lippert, who had served efficiently as organizer for a number of years, felt constrained to resign for various reasons. His place was filled by Comrade Th. Grady. Fred W. Frank was chosen secretary, while Comrade Chas. Zerenner agreed to remain custodian of our treasury. The coming event in Rochester is the Commune Festival, being arranged for March 20 by the Section and Labor Lyceum co-operatively. Comrade Saniel, of New York City, is to be the principal speaker. May we have a great revival of the spirit of '48, to declare war—not to any particular princeling—but to King Capital, to be fought—not with muskets—but with

the sword of sound reason, thus bringing in the true Republic, which some of our brave warriors of '48 had in view. FRED. W. FRANK, Secy.

##### Ohio.

CANTON, O., Feb. 8.—Section Canton, S. L. P., at a meeting on Thursday, Feb. 3d, made the following nominations for the municipal election:

For Water Works Trustee—John F. Flynn.

Board of Education—Henry O. Bucklin, Chas. F. Phirman and Phil. J. Haydel.

Township Trustee—Lawrence Strasser.

Justices of the Peace—J. Cal. Dager, Matthias Marz.

Nominations for City Council will be made in the 4th and 6th wards, our Section not having members enough to put up a full ticket.

Agitation meetings are held every afternoon at 115 N. Piedmont Street, which as a rule are well attended.

##### Rhode Island.

PROVIDENCE, Dec. 27.—The following is the list of lectures to be delivered in Textile Hall, 1955 Westminster Street, Olneyville Square, during the months of January, February, March and April, 1898:

Feb. 20—"Is Socialism the Logical Outgrowth of the Present Economic System." Prof. Henry B. Gardiner.

Feb. 27—"Trusts and Monopolies." Mr. E. Sherwood.

Mar. 6—"What Is Socialism." Mr. Anthony McDonald.

Mar. 13—"Building." Mr. George W. Downing.

Mar. 20—"What Knowledge Is Most Important?" Mr. Charles May.

Mar. 27—"Reform and Reformers." Mr. Thomas Curran.

April 3—"Champions of Democracy." Mr. E. Ward.

April 10—"Why I am a Socialist." Mr. E. J. Kelley.

April 17—"The Way Out." Mr. Jas. Reid.

April 24—"The Trend of Civilization." Mr. John Hurley.

Questions and discussions invited at each meeting. Come and discuss these momentous questions of the day. Admission free.

##### Wisconsin.

MILWAUKEE, Dec. 27.—The Section will hold the following series of lectures for the next four months:

FEBRUARY.

Sunday, 20—"Why are we Internationalists?" By Mr. Paula.

Sunday, 27—"Evolution and Revolution." By Mr. Richardson.

MARCH.

Sunday, 6—"The Growth of Private Property." By Mr. P. Wilke.

Sunday, 13—"Socialism and Populism." By Dr. Knopfngel.

Sunday, 20—"What is Revolutionary Socialism?" By Mr. Gundersman.

Sunday, 27—"The Class-consciousness of the Capitalists and the Class-ignorance of the Proletariat." By Dr. Knopfngel.

APRIL.

Sunday, 3—"The Coming Municipal Election." By Mr. Butoma.

Sunday, 10—"Idealism and Materialism." By Mr. Gundersman.

Sunday, 17—"Christianity as preached by Christ, and as it is." By Mr. Riese.

Sunday, 24—"Socialism vs. Anarchism." By Dr. Knopfngel.

MAY.

Sunday, 1—"Militarism." By Mr. Gundersman.

Sunday, 8—"The Bigotry of the 19th Century." By Dr. Knopfngel.

Lectures will commence at 8 p. m. sharp, and will close at 10 p. m. Each lecture will be open to discussion.

The Academy of Social Science.

PARLIAMENTS OF LABOR.

D. A. No. 1.

(CENTRAL LABOR FEDERATION OF N. Y.)

Delegate E. Finklestein, of the Carl Sahn Club, was chairman at last Sunday's meeting of the New York Central Labor Federation, D. A. No. 1, S. T. & L. A., and Delegate G. Mielenhansen, of the United Engineers' Union No. 1, was vice-chairman.

Credentials were received from the Silver Workers' Prot. Ass'n. sending P. Higgins, and from the Swedish Machinist Union sending J. H. Samuelson and K. C. Schmitt. They were admitted.

The Arbitration Committee reported having had several interviews with Messrs. L. Miller & Son, manufacturers of "Le Roy" cigarettes. Miller stated that he was not opposed to the union, but that he managed his business according to his own system. He issued a document to his employees and forced them to sign it. The signers declare that they will not join the "labor fakir" union. Two employees courageously declined to sign the "Siberian" document. The same committee reported, relative to the "Value" Cigarette Co. Lehman's, 5th and Lewis Streets, that they had nothing against the union, it being of no consequence if union or non-union people were employed. This concern manufactures the cheap 5c brand.

Ind. Bakers' Union, Branch 1, reported having initiated new members. No more labels will be issued to the Bohemian bakers. All members were ordered to produce their citizenship papers.

German Waiters' Union No. 1 reported by letter urging that the C. L. F. should again warn Waiters' Alliance Liberty that they should not proceed beyond their jurisdiction.

Furriers' Union reported sustaining the New York Cooks and Pastry Cooks' Association in its complaint.

Empire City Lodge Machinists reported having sent a committee to the

## THE DAILY PEOPLE

\$50,000 FUND.

Amount Pledged down to February 9th, 1898.

\$4,575.

The following amounts have been paid down to February 9th, 1898, incl.:

Previously acknowledged ..... \$2417.76  
J. Mahon Barnes, Philadelphia, Pa. 80; C. L. Furman, Brooklyn, N. Y. 100; Andrew McRoden, Marietta, Wash. 100; State Committee S. L. P., Conn. 100  
Total ..... \$2517.76

Pledgers will please keep in mind the dates on which their payments fall due, as per printed list, and remit promptly. If any error appears on the list, correct with equal promptness.

THE DAILY PEOPLE COMMITTEE.

184 William St., N. Y.

### West Side Assembly Districts, Socialist Labor Party.

#### A FREE LECTURE By H. CARLESS.

#### When Prosperity Will Come,

will be delivered and  
Illustrated by Gorgeous Stereoscopic Views  
at Bloomingdale Turn - Verein Hall,  
54th Street and 8th Avenue.

on SATURDAY, February 26th, at 8 P. M. sharp.

WORKINGMEN: Attend this Free Lecture and learn the opinions of an able socialist speaker, upon your industrial condition. We socialists are not dogmatic in our views, neither are we afraid of questions or discussions, hence questions will be allowed and a free discussion will be permitted.

WORKINGMEN, come in your numbers to learn if you are sympathetic, to debate if you are not.

Swedish Machinist Union urging them to affiliate with the C. L. F., which the union had done at once. A festival will be held on Monday (Washington's birthday) evening, at 64 E. 4th Street, and all delegates are invited to attend.

Pressmen and Feeders' Union reported that they are actively engaged in organizing the east-side bookbinders.

N. Y. Cooks and Pastry Cooks reported that their members were not employed at the festival of the "New York Volks-Zeitung." It was shown during the debate that the union had not applied for recognition to the proper committee. It was announced that the former walking delegate and present saloonkeeper Westenberg had tried with the usual Anarchist tactics to spoil the said festival, but that he had failed in his wild scheme most signally.

As an Assembly District, S. L. P., meets in his saloon, it should note this, and leave him alone with his slops.

Prog. Rolled Cigarette Wakers' Union reported that L. Miller & Son were treating their employees with Czarlike measures. New shop regulations were introduced. The union was instructed to report at the next meeting what action they desired taken.

A committee representing the New Bedford strikers was admitted, and told how 9,000 wage slaves were heroically fighting against a reduction imposed by the greedy cotton barons. Each boss had pledged himself to forfeit \$5,000 if he would take back the union hands so long as the strike lasted. The committee consisted of two female delegates, and during the ensuing debate one of them declared that the textile workers were awakening to the cold facts that the workingmen could not better their condition, in fact emancipate their class by independent political action. A great shout of laughter went up when a report was read stating that Humpty-Dumpty Gompers had appeared on the strike scene and pompously promised the strikers \$16,000 per week donations. It was resolved to issue an emergency appeal to all affiliated unions, and the donations are to be forwarded to the financial secretary of the C. L. F. It was further resolved to urge the party press to also open subscription lists.

United Macaroni Workers' Union was definitely organized in the afternoon at 64 E. 4th Street, and will be represented in the C. L. F. by delegates next Sunday. They also decided to apply for a charter from the S. T. & L. A.

In compliance with the request of D. A. No. 1, notice is hereby given that contributions for the striking textile workers will be received and acknowledged at the office of THE PEOPLE.

Daily People Minor Fund.

Previously acknowledged ..... \$2,110.61

Mark W. Pringle, Cloud Chief, Okla. Terr. .... 50

Frank R. Hinds, Ishpeming, Mich. .... 1.00

H. Schoeps, West Hoboken, N. J. .... 1.00

Paperbox Makers' Union No. 1, N. Y. .... 1.60

For sale of a Picture, N. Y. .... 25

Collected at Temperance Meeting in Brooklyn, N. Y. .... 1.00

Proceeds of ball of Prog. Tailors' Alliance No. 114, S. T. & L. A., Buffalo, N. Y. .... 50.00

Total ..... \$2,165.96

P. S.—In the issue of THE PEOPLE of Feb. 6th, through a typographical error, Section Oneida was credited with \$1; it should have been \$1.25, but the total given in that issue was correct.

HENRY KUHN, Fin. Secy.

Sections of the S. L. P., Attention.

The pamphlet "Erin's Hope," with an appendix, containing a call of the Irish Socialist Republican party to the working class Irish of America and a call of the National Executive Committee, S. L. P., to our Irish fellow workers, is now ready, and orders can be filled at short notice.

Price for single copies 5 cents. Discount to dealers and for larger quantities. Address all orders to

N. Y. LABOR NEWS CO.,  
64 East 4th Street, New York City.

We have received a pretty little volume of 41 pages, paper covered, containing the poems of Comrade James Allman. Many of them have appeared in THE PEOPLE. Those who desire the collection in permanent form should apply to Labor News Co., 64 E. 4th St. Price 15 cents.

### FOR THE 100 000.

(Continued from Page 1.)

established as part of the school system, to give the fullest opportunity for education under present conditions.

5. The enforcement of the assessment law. The railroads, corporations and wealthy individuals are in most cases assessed for but a small per cent. of the real value of their property, while the small property owners are assessed as the law demands.

6. Municipal employment of idle citizens.

7. That no city work be done by contract, but directly by the city.

#### GENERAL TICKET.

Mayor—Robert Fuchs, Baker.

Police Judge—Cornelius Cunningham, Tinner.

City Attorney—Milton B. Kirker, Lawyer.

City Treasurer—Harry L. Gratton, Secretary, Labor Hall.

City Auditor—Alphonso L. Hunt, Physician.

FOR MEMBERS OF UPPER HOUSE.

George Kruegel, Stove Repairs.

Louis C. Chaney, Painter.

Heinrich Janssen, Stationary Engineer.

Dennis M. Kennedy, Clerk.

Claude T. Goble, Lithographer.

Charles L. Richardson, Traveling Salesman.

Thomas O. Combs, Salesman.

George Kime, Laundryman.

George W. Lewis, Drycleaner.

FOR SCHOOL DIRECTORS.

Christian H. Custerbender, Coal Dealer.

Edward Deuss, Printer.